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and arm bands, while on and in front of the stand lie pipes and carved figures. All these things are sacred; the Indian calls them "Nhande-Yara-Mbaé" (things of our lord). A small cross is hung around children's necks to protect them from harm.

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Fig. 3. A Caiuás Indian with the adorned cross, the gourd rattle, and a large tembetá. On his head, a diadem. Otherwise he is in modern dress.



Fig. 4. Two men and a boy swing the gourd rattle in simple greeting.

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Many adults also wear one. -- All this seems to be connected with Christianity. This is not the case, however.

The cross is an ancient symbol in the religion of the Caiuás.

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The Indian Claudio, in the presence of his aged uncle and two other very old Indians, who supplemented his report, told me the following about the origin of things and the beginning of all that came into being:

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The supreme god of the universe is Nhande-Rũ-Vusu (Our Great Father), whom the people also call Nhande-Yara (Our Lord).

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184 too, one meets adults who have not suffered the mutilation. In southern Mato Grosso the pierced lip is considered the principal mark of distinction of the Kayová (also called there Tembekuá, "pierced lip") in contrast to the Nandéva; the Kayová ridicule the latter as having "the face of a woman."

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• [189] Among the Nandéva of the Paulista coast, the group most influenced by the caboclo culture, the women pierce the ear lobes for the use of earrings. An Indian of this group also spoke to me about tattooing, for magical purposes, on both arms; nevertheless I did not observe any individual with marks of this nature.

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[192] Few women wear the hair short; most of them let it fall loosely to their shoulders. The Mbílá woman, upon cutting the hair, divides it transversally over the crown, gathering it into two knots (odifadjókua), one over the forehead, the other at the nape of the neck; when the hair grows out again, the transversal division disappears, and only one knot is made in the region of the occiput. The Nandéva women of the São Paulo coast like to make one or two long braids, which also may be observed as an exception among the Mbílá of this region. One young Nandéva woman of the village of Itariri even used permanent waving, besides painting herself with rouge and lipstick. The men of the various groups have already adopted the haircut common among the caboclos, except for some /28/ of the more conservative Kayová, who keep the traditional hair-styles: the hair falls down to the eyebrows in front and is also cut horizontally in the occipital region. Over the hair thus combed with a comb of splinters of bamboo, the paí, or religious leaders, wear the djeguaaká, diadem of feathers, which is exclusively an ornament of the male sex in the religious ceremonies. [178] The traditional way of cutting the hair in the shape of a crown is also to be observed among some Kayová women; the others, "more modern," let it grow longer.

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182 Cultural influences on the physical appearance are manifested in the development of the arm and leg musculature. The women have stout arms because of the daily use of the pestle. Men and women have very prominent calves because of the long walks

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157 aggravates in a way the effects of cultural disintegration, as well as other manifestations stemming from the situation of marginality.

856 To the extent that the adult concerns himself with the development of the child, his interference is directed almost exclusively toward growth and physical well-being. The restrictions to which the father submits in the *couvade* and before that bear above all on the physical well-being of the newborn baby. The magic means that are put into practice during childhood are of a therapeutical and prophylactic nature. To avoid

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789 having toads form in the baby's mouth, there is hung around its neck a small cloth with seven "little toads" (probably tadpoles). Such usage, observed among the *Nandéva* of Araribá and probably of caboclo origin, is analogous to that of tying around each leg of the child a string with *micangas* /not italicized in the original/ and rings from the leg of a saracura bird, "in order to learn to walk fast" (*Mbllá* of Rio Branco). As we have seen

[177] earlier, the *Nandéva* of Bananal told me about the cold morning bath to which "the ancient ones" subjected the children, so that they would grow up strong, a practice now abandoned. 856
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515 Among the *Mbllá* of Palmeirinha I saw a baby, of male sex, with a bracelet of embira provided with a knot; I was told that it was a matter of "sympathy, in order to remain strong"; obviously

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789 the reader will not fail to note the analogy with the "muquirá" used on the wrist by our caboclo to make the arm strong. -- [177]

856 Finally, touching upon physical existence, the children are constantly surrounded by magical protection and stimuli.

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856 Regarding the soul, that is, the psychic and moral individuality, there are some practices of magico-educative treatment, but of secondary importance. The soul is born already finished, or at least with certain qualities virtually, so to speak, embryonic. In general, therefore, no attempt is made to force the development of the psychic nature. There are few magical remedies developed by the culture in order to influence the formation of the personality of the immature. Among the Guarani of Dourados (both Kayová and *Nandéva*, according to the information of Marçal de Souza), the parents of the newborn baby

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The paternal resguardo after the birth of the child is known in anthropology by the name of couvade. It occurs in many Brazilian tribes and has given rise to the most varied interpretations. The preoccupation, reasonable by the way, with considering the couvade in its relations with the birth ritual should not be carried to the exaggeration of reducing the couvade itself to a rite or conjunction of ritualized acts. In order to understand the functions of the couvade -- Roger Bastide quite correctly warned -- it is less important to study its ritualization than to compare it with other situations of life and practices analogous to it. From such a comparison it will become apparent what is general and what is specific in these practices and situations. As /87/ we have seen, the Guaraní, speaking Portuguese, calls the paternal brooding "resguardo," but he also applies the term, at least nowadays, to the measures taken by the mother of the newborn baby. This is already significant: there thus exists a common element in the paternal and maternal relations. On the other hand, however, there are also distinctive elements. I have rarely heard the term odjépotá used for the mother, and only the Mbíá consider her (odjéko)akú: the others do not have a special designation for the state of the parturient woman. Ermelina, the oldest Nandéva woman of the village of Bananal, remembers the time when the Guaraní (Nandéva) parturient women got up as soon as the first day: nowadays, she adds, "they stay there a week without being able to do anything." -- Among the present-day Nandéva of Dourados, the woman stays in bed some four days after the birth; the Kayová woman remains seated for two or three days with her legs crossed, lying down only at night.

Finally, there are common and divergent elements. In any case one should speak of the couvade only in relation to the father.

If, in situations different from, but in part analogous to that in which the family is expanded by a newborn baby, precautions of the couvade type are required, that is, magical measures to neutralize the vulnerability -- physical and psychic -- stemming from a state of "weakness," the hypothesis held by various authors,

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[114] that one is dealing primarily with an extension for the father of precautionary measures necessary for the safety of the newborn baby, is admissible. Through a kind of "participation," the father represents the child, and, to some extent, the mother as well. The danger threatening him is of the same nature as that hanging over the mother. There is probably no need to interpret his practices as having any meaning or function fundamentally different from the measures taken by his spouse. Concerning the presumable "recognition of paternity, which has been pointed out as the social function of the masculine post-parturition -- with reason, perhaps, for other primitive groups --, we do not find it among the Guarani, since the non-observance would not affect in any way the status of the father with reference to the baby, but simply its magical security and the health of the child. Therefore, the masculine post-parturition, instead of leading to social paternity, is, on the contrary, the result of it. And much less can it be said that the resguardo of the father has the function of conferring upon the man and husband paternal dignity within the group constellation; in this case there would be no reason to repeat the observances every time a child is born, but it would be enough to submit to them on the occasion of the birth of the first-born. There is apparently nothing among the Guarani that would permit speaking of specific social functions inherent in the couvade.

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842 /88/ Contrary to what people have tried to show with reference to other tribes of the Tupi-Guarani group, for the Guarani there is no indication of any direct relation between the masculine post-parturition and the ideas concerning conception that exist in the tribal culture. Although it is acknowledged that male children [827] come from the father and female children from the mother, I have not obtained the slightest reference to differences in the paternal or maternal behavior in the one case or the other. One 846 Mbã informant from Rio Branco, for example, insisted on the 953 necessity for the father to take precautions /se resguardar/ after the birth of a girl as well, "for otherwise the child will get sick."

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1978 The fear of ridicule and criticism makes it difficult to obtain sufficiently reliable information about the couvade. At [526]

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782 to dictate some more of his prayers himself. He did it, so he
126 explained, in the certainty that they would "return" to him
828 afterwards. The attitude of Paí Tomás with regard to the record-
ing machine on which I had recorded some songs sung /126/ by
him was similar: "Now the machine is going to take my
782 prayers." This reminds one of the Nandéva expression that the
[782] protector spirit brings (not: teaches) the prayer to the individual.
[782] It is easy to see that the porahéi is taken both as force and as
[424] substance, which can be bound to a person and, in a way, de-
tach itself from him. Thus also the fact that it is likewise suit-

782 able for magical actions. Among the prayers of the Kayová
• 789 there is one that is used to kill harmful animals. It clears away
foxes, ocelots, opossums, and other enemies of the poultry
house: it is so strong, they told me, that it succeeds in killing
the dogs in the house. This example also shows that the idea of
porahéi or "prayer" is not always necessarily limited to the
domain of religious experiences: its use may be transformed
simply into a technique of magic. Like other cultures, that of
the Guaraní tends finally to confuse the two spheres -- religion
and magic -- although they are based, as we know, on two
fundamentally opposite attitudes of the human spirit.

782 One final observation with reference to the function of the
829 prayers. Comparing, from the point of view of social disorganiza-
tion, the explanations given in one village and another concern-
ing the evils that afflict the world and the dangers that hover over
it, there is a significant difference in that the groups of greater
cohesion and relative social economy attribute the fault to for-
eigners, while those of greater dynamism seek it in their own
midst. The former turn to ethnocentric arguments, such as, for
example, the Nandéva of Jacaré, who told me that the world is
going badly nowadays because the white people are not very re-
ligious: that to pray, to praise God, the Guaraní does not have
a set day, Sunday, but praises him (ñemboeté) every day: that
to him all the dances are religious, unlike the white man, who has
"dances that are even sinful." The assimilation of foreign con-
cepts into tribal culture is thus put in the service of the traditional
doctrines themselves.

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João Samuel has special sympathy for São Gonçalo, a music-playing and fun-loving saint. He told me that sometimes the Guarani perform the dance of São Gonçalo. When it rains a great deal during a puxirê /co-operative work party/, a "promise" is made in order for him to stop the rain. "The first tune is his, the guitar player has to sing his tune first, the saint is in the middle of the table, between two flowers. An old man and an old woman come, dancing, to kiss the saint three times. Then his tune ends. He is then taken away and put in his place on the little altar. And the fun goes on." At a puxirê in Bananal, when they made the "promise," São Gonçalo performed the miracle of stopping the rain.

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Although he actually professes the tribal religion, João Samuel prides himself in being a "tocador de viola" guitar player, as his father was; and "to be a guitar player" is to venerate the saints. On a certain occasion a "believer," the son of Da. Lfimpada, appeared in João Samuel's house: he was angry about the images and told him to "stop worshipping these saints of clay, of paper, and of cardboard." Before such an insinuation, which seemed offensive to him, João Samuel invoked the fact that his father had already been a guitar player and "already had some prayers of his own in that religion."

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/142/ The Guarani, particularly in the case of old individuals, does not always refer without inhibitions to the Christian or pseudo-Christian representations and practices adopted in more or less recent times. In Poýdjú's house there was an image of São Bosco, if I am not mistaken, but it was said to be São José; in the room of the married granddaughter there was a small oratory with a crucifix and other images of saints. The images were all provided with a djeatiasá made of sewing thread and in front of them were put small coins to prevent illness. Poýdjú did not like it when reference was made to these things and even seemed somewhat ashamed of them. And for the granddaughter the devotional value, if it existed (as perhaps could be inferred from the djeatiasá), was in any case insignificant in comparison to the magical function of the crucifix and the images.

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the solar hero gave each animal the task that would fall to it on earth, he said to the cock: "At dawn you shall start divining, you shall start to crow." Schaden, 1947, p. 114.

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A very important sector of the influence of the caboclo folklore on Guaraní culture is that of magical defense against pains and inauspicious influences of any nature. The interest in the practices of defensive and protective magic stems for its part from the position of importance occupied by black magic in the mental life of the Guaraní. Capitão Bento of Bananal wore at his neck a bag with the copy of a "prayer" to São Jorge /Saint George/ to save him from "Coisa Ruim" /Bad Thing/ and enemies; a small aluminum cross is supposed to cure him of fever and avert dangers.

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Old Pedro Pires, likewise a Nandéva of the coast, has among the little pendants that he wears at his neck a small cross of cedar as a "defense" against enemies and "other things"; to protect himself against "coisa ruim," he has a necklace of capiá-mirim seeds (7).

7. /From p. 160 in the original source./ This is the same as is used to make the djeatsaá, the variety of elongated seed that they claim to have brought from the Paraná. According to Pedro Pires, the capiá-mirim is very delicate, it is not for every hand that it will grow, it is necessary to choose the hand." Concerning the djeatsaá, I defined it elsewhere: "The pectoral rows of black seeds or yma ú, which the men wear crosswise over the chest during the religious practices and in other situations of their lives; the word is translated 'to cross'." Schaden *apud* Nimuendajú, 1954, p. 53. By way of rectification, I want to recall that in Araribá women are seen with djeatsaá.

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Sometimes it is difficult to learn whether the magic pendant is or is not of caboclo origin. Thus, another piece of the outfit of the same old man: a piece of the front paw of an armadillo, "in order to have strength: the armadillo has its strength in the hand." Old Ermelina (Bananal), who is far from disdaining guaiacol and other "pharmacy remedies" against toothache and who, lacking them, has recourse to fumigations with alligator skin burned in a pipe, uses, hung on her necklace of beads, small rectangular bag with a piece of alligator jaw, also against toothache. On the same necklace I observed a small medal of Nossa Senhora de Montserrate /Our Lady of Montserrat/, without any definite purpose. "I put it there just so; I believe a lot in the saint." There seems to be a tendency to consider the objects of Catholic worship as bearers of medico-magical qualities in general, that is, not specific ones. With the exception of São Gonçalo and, perhaps, São Jorge, as far as can be verified, there is not attributed to any saint a definite task or special power.

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The signs, such as crosses and hexagrams, drawn with charcoal on the doors of some Nandéva houses of the coastal villages and in Araribá are also obviously of caipira /this word is not italicized in the original source/ origin. When in this /158/ last nucleus I asked Poýdjú about the meaning of these designs, he at first became visibly ashamed, but then he explained that it was a matter of designs learned from the "nationals" and used by the Indians so that the anguêry and the atsýyguá (or "saci," according to the informant's translation) would not enter the house. The identification of the atsýyguá with the saci, made by Poýdjú and other Indians of the village, is even more significant because of exemplifying very well the phenomenon of convergence and subsequent fusion of native and caboclo ideas.

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I have noted among the Nandéva and the Kayová the figure of the saci, formerly also found among the coastal Tupinambá and long ago integrated into the Brazilian rural folklore of all quadrants. The former in Araribá called it atsýyguá, because it causes pain or sickness to anyone who meets it; nobody sees it,

771 /182 cont./ Under the
772 direction of doctor-surgeons, who, on the basis of dreams and
167 visions, claimed that the destruction of the world prophesied by
756 the myth was near, many herds of this tribe, around 1800,
787 started to walk in the direction of the rising sun from their villages
175 in the south of Mato Grosso, in order to reach the Land without
Evil, which was supposed to exist beyond the Atlantic Ocean. Only
part of these Indians reached the coast, where, sooner or later,
they finally had to admit the impossibility of reaching the coun-
try of their aspirations. Part of their descendants are the present-
day Nandéva of the coast of São Paulo. In the immediate sur-
roundings of the capital of the State, in 1917, Nimsendajú found

[175] some remnants of a band of Paraguayan Guarani, who could not
be persuaded to give up their plan of continuing their march to
the sea. Nimsendajú himself then accompanied them to Praia
Grande, where night after night they performed religious dances, in
order to make their bodies light enough to fly to the promised land.

From all this come highly significant problems, which were
[121] the point of departure for the present work. To what end would
the Indians whose dream had not been realized finally be brought?
In what manner had their spirit accommodated itself to the fru-
strating experience? Did the belief in a mythical Paradise con-
tinue to exist among them and what modifications had it under-
gone? -- Even nowadays, as we have seen, migratory movements
[184] continue, at least among the Mbatá. I have the impression, by
the way, that nowadays they are the only ones to search for the
Land without Evil in the east, while the other groups prefer to
seek it in the south.

773 In the mythology of all the Guarani groups now living in
Brazil there occur a Universal Fire and a Universal Flood, which
have destroyed an earlier earth. These representations are probably
part of the ancient mythical tradition of the tribe. The belief in
the destruction of the world in the future, however, which in its
773 present form indisputably contains Christian elements, even giving
797 in some of its variants the impression of the Last Judgment, is
177 possible due to the teachings transmitted by the Jesuit missionaries

178 a cabo (Vogt, 1904, p. 203). Today the number of Indians under the
622 authority of a chief vary from 20 to about 100.

621 The members of the ancient *Guarani* communities built the houses of
their chiefs and tilled their fields and harvested their crops (Ruiz de
Montoya, 1892, p. 49).

685 Law and order.—It is only about modern *Caingú* communities that
756 there is some information on justice and law. Thieves are detected by
695 shamans, who touch each suspected man on the chest near the heart. If
684 the fingers leave a red mark, the man is guilty. A stolen wife must be
682 returned with a present. In case of murder, if the criminal's relatives do
not pay the wergild to prevent a feud, the offended family takes the
punishment into its own hands.

576 Etiquette.—Among ancient *Guarani*, when a guest entered a hut, he
574 was surrounded by women who wailed and enumerated the deeds of his
dead relatives. The guest covered his face with his hands and shed a
few tears. The amount of crying and wailing was proportionate to the
importance of the visitor (Ruiz de Montoya, 1892, p. 52).

LIFE CYCLE

843 Birth and naming.—Even in modern days, a pregnant woman must
846 avoid any food that might make her child abnormal. After childbirth,
the father lies in his hammock until the infant's navel cord falls off, re-
fraining from activities thought harmful to the baby. The *Ajapocuru*
849 believe that babies are reincarnated dead people, hence one of the shaman's
715 first tasks is to identify the returning spirit and, by means of his super-
756 natural power, to obtain a magic substance to be rubbed into the child's
•787 body. Infant baptism, though Catholic in many respects, is permeated
851 by ancient rites and beliefs. Names refer to mythical beings or to sacred
177 objects associated with the place on the horizon from which the soul is
178 supposed to have come. Children may be very closely identified with
551 the deities of the Upper World, and those from the west, the abode of
77 Tupá, may receive a miniature of the bench symbolic of their divine name-
mate. In case of danger, especially if a person is sick, his name is changed
553 and a new ceremony of baptism is performed (Kissmendejé, 1914 a, pp.
302-303).

581 Boys' initiation.—A *Caingú* boy undergoes something of an initiation
rite when, prior to puberty, his lower lip is perforated for the insertion of
a lobst. After a group of boys has been somewhat acclimated with lobst,
(874) a specialist perforates each boy's lower lip with a wooden or deer-horn
(412) awl and prays to Tupá that the lobst may protect its wearer against death.
(239) For the three following days the initiates eat only maize mush. After
(293) their initiation they drop the lobst for "a, e" (yes) for the adult name-
(195) mate "u."

After death the two souls separate; the ayvucué generally tries to reach the Land-Without-Evil, but may linger dangerously near his former home. The animal soul, too, is likely to turn into a fearful ghost. To drive the ayvucué away, the shamans organize a dance in which two opposite groups of dancers, by running to and fro and passing each other at full speed, so confuse the soul that it is lost in a maze. The shaman then is able to deliver it to Tupá, who takes it to the Land of the Dead. The animal soul has to be attacked with weapons and exterminated like a dangerous animal (Nimuendajú, 1914 a, p. 305).

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The Caingús feel themselves surrounded by spirits or demons, who appear in human or animal forms. They are the masters or the protectors of animals, plants, trees, water places, and winds. These genii, if offended, can be harmful.

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Ceremonials.—Among the *Apapocuva-Guarani*, any trouble, any anxiety felt by the community or the shaman, or even the prospect of a collective enterprise stimulates a ceremonial dance. The performers stand in a line, the women on one end, jumping up and down on the same spot and pounding their stamping tubes; the men on the other end, shaking their rattles, slightly stooping, knees bent, throwing their feet forward and backward in a rapid tempo. The shaman faces the dancers and walks, runs, or bounces in front of them brandishing his rattle. Each woman in turn performs a solo dance in front of the line of the men, and sometimes she may invite a man to dance opposite her (Nimuendajú, 1914 a, p. 347).

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Great emphasis is placed on orientation; the dancers always face the east and, when the entire line revolves, it invariably moves north, west, and south, describing a perfect ellipse. Dancers often hold ceremonial clubs, trimmed with basketry sheaths. The shaman carries a ritual stick. Dances take place in special fence-enclosed huts, which open toward the east and serve as storehouses for the ritual paraphernalia.

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The most important *Apapocuva* ceremony is celebrated by the whole tribe just before harvest. Cultivated plants, wild fruits, and game are exhibited near candles and, after 4 days of ritual dancing, are sprinkled with holy water. The assistants at the ritual are also baptized on the same occasion. The object of the festivities, which are characterized by a spirit of harmony and pleasant cheerfulness, is to guard men and food from evil influences. The *Caingús* offer cakes made with the first ripe maize to Tupá.

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TRANSMISSION

No amount of training can make an *Apapocuva-Guarani* a shaman if he has not been supernaturally inspired with magic chants. To every adult male or female sooner or later a dead relative reveals a chant, which the recipient eagerly teaches to the rest of the community. Its possession confers a certain immunity against accidents. A shaman is a man who

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A shaman is a man who

756 owns a great many magic chants, which he uses for the common good of
[533] his people. He must also be capable of leading a ceremonial dance, of
• [781] playing the rattle gourd in the different modes, and of performing the
[424] rites besitting certain circumstances. The main test of his skill is offered
[240] by the harvest dance, which can be successfully organized only by full-
[796] fledged shamans. By his "voltes" and jumpa, the shaman endeavors to
[781] make his body "light." He must also have frequent dreams, because they
give him superior knowledge and insight into the future.

753 The ancient Guaraní and even many modern groups assign disease to
[178] the intrusion of an object into the body. The Apapocuva visualize the
source of the illness as an invisible substance that the shaman sees after
[755] he has chanted for several hours. The treatment's aim is to extract that
substance and to endow the patient with magic power.

756 Legends and historical traditions both attest the extraordinary prestige
785 enjoyed by some shamans of old who were leaders of their tribes. After
[554] receiving their inspiration, these great men retired into the wilderness,
where they lived on celestial food. By constant dancing some Apapocuva-
[774] Guaraní shamans gradually subjugated their animal soul, strengthening
their ayvucué, or peaceful soul, until they could fly toward the heavenly
Land-Without-Evil.

178 Among ancient Guaraní great medicine men worked miracles by their
756 chants. With their saliva they caused death. They were strong enough
[577] to drag a whole tribe across a large river. They claimed absolute control
[765] of all natural phenomena, including stars. After their death, their bones,
[178] kept as relics in luxurious hammocks hung in special huts, were worshiped
[759] and consulted as oracles. Ordinary shamans added to their prestige by
slight of hand.

756 Shamans are not only responsible for the religious life, but also inter-
692 fere in the administration of justice. Whenever a succession of misfor-
754 tunes is imputed to witchcraft, the shaman unmask the sorcerer, who is
[684] savagely killed. The shamans' political power derives, naturally, from
[554] their prestige and from the fear which they inspire. Usually, witchcraft
is blamed on a neighboring tribe. Sorcerers kill their victims by practic-
ing witchcraft on their enemies.

MYTHOLOGY

773 The high-sounding names of the main characters in the Apapocuva-
Guaraní mythology tinge it with a solemnity quite foreign to the versions
of the same motifs collected elsewhere.

773 The story of the creation is told in impressive terms. At the beginning
776 there was darkness, and the Eternal Day fought in the night. Our Great
Father found himself and created the earth, which he propped on the
Eternal Cross. With him was a companion, Our-Father-Who-Knows-
Everything. Our Great Father made a woman, Our Mother, whom he